

Message Text

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FOR COVEY ONLY

E.O. 11652: APRIL 28, 1976 TAGS: AF, PFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH - SOUTHERN AFRICA

TITLE: SOUTHERN AFRICA: PROGRESS AND PRINCIPLE

1. THE WORLD LOOKS TOWARD AFRICA TODAY WITH CONCERN, WITH GOODWILL, AND WITH HOPE.

2. HERE IN AFRICA THE RANGE OF MANKIND'S PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL CAN BE SEEN IN ALL ITS COMPLEXITY AND ENORMOUS PROMISE. IN AFRICA ONE CAN SENSE A NEARNESS TO THE VERY ORIGINS OF OUR COMMON HUMANITY. ALL THE MASSIVE POWER AND GRANDEUR OF NATURE IS HERE BEFORE US IN BOTH ITS ASPECTS -- AS THE HARSH MASTER AND AS THE BOUNTIFUL SERVANT OF MANKIND. AND HERE ON THIS CONTINENT WE CAN FEEL THE POWER OF RICH AND LIVING CULTURES WHICH HAVE CHANGED AND INVIGORATED THE ART, THE MUSIC AND THE THOUGHT OF EVERY CONTINENT OF THE WORLD.

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3. AFRICA IS A SYMBOL OF OUR MODERN ERA IN MANY WAYS. MORALLY AND POLITICALLY, THE DRAMA OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA IN THE LAST GENERATION HAS DONE MUCH TO ALTER THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ONE-THIRD

OF THE WORLD'S INDEPENDENT NATIONS ARE IN AFRICA. THEIR VOICES AND VIEWS ARE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS. MORE THAN ANY OTHER REGION OF THE WORLD AFRICA REPRESENTS THE FACT THAT THE PREVIOUS ERA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -- THE COLONIAL ERA -- IS A THING OF THE PAST. AND THE CHALLENGES AFRICA FACES -- IN NATION-BUILDING, IN KEEPING THE PEACE AND INTEGRITY OF THIS CONTINENT, IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, IN TAKING ITS PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL COUNCILS, IN ACHIEVING RACIAL JUSTICE -- THESE REFLECT THE TASKS OF BUILDING WORLD ORDER IN OUR TIME.

4. THUS AFRICA'S GREATNESS LIES NOT ONLY IN ITS PROUD PAST, IN ITS LAND, IN ITS PEOPLE -- BUT MOST DRAMATICALLY IN ITS FUTURE. TODAY THE WORLD COMMUNITY IS AWARE AS NEVER BEFORE OF AFRICA'S POLITICAL IMPACT, ECONOMIC POTENTIAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE. AFRICA'S ROLE IS CRUCIAL TO THE REALIZATION OF THE FULL RANGE OF MANKIND'S GRANDEST ASPIRATIONS. ALL THOSE WHO CARE ABOUT BUILDING A BETTER WORLD -- OF PEACE, OF PROSPERITY AND OF JUSTICE -- KNOW THAT AFRICA'S SUCCESS AND PROGRESS ARE INDISPENSABLE TO THE REALIZATION OF THOSE HOPES.

5. THESE ARE THE THREE GREAT TASKS OF OUR TIME. I HAVE COME TO THIS CONTINENT TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND JUSTICE WITH THE LEADERS OF EIGHT AFRICAN NATIONS.

6. MY COUNTRY IS RESOLVED TO CONFRONT THESE ISSUES SQUARELY AND TO SEEK TO RESOLVE THEM COOPERATIVELY, THROUGH HELPING TO CONSTRUCT THE NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WHICH OUR TIMES DEMAND. AMERICA KNOWS THAT PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE IS AN IMPERATIVE AND THAT IT MUST REST UPON A GLOBAL BALANCE OF STABILITY. WE KNOW THAT ALL OUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE FUTURE WILL BE AT RISK UNLESS WE BUILD A GLOBAL ECONOMY WHICH ALL NATIONS FIND FAIR AND REWARDING. AND WE KNOW THAT NEITHER PEACE NOR

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PROSPERITY CAN ULTIMATELY FIND FULL MEANING UNLESS THE WORLD'S PEOPLE POSSESS IN FULL MEASURE THE SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS THAT ARE THE HERITAGE OF ALL.

7. OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US ONE IS BOTH URGENT AND OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO YOUR NATIONS AND MINE: THE QUESTION OF RACIAL JUSTICE. THE UNITED STATES, CREATED OUT OF A KALEIDOSCOPE OF RACES AND PEOPLES, IS IN ITS VERY ESSENCE A GREAT EXPERIMENT IN MULTIRACIALISM. THE SPECIAL IDENTIFICATION OF BLACK AMERICANS WITH THEIR AFRICAN HERITAGE ADDS INTENSITY TO OUR INHERENT INTEREST IN DEMONSTRATING THAT PEOPLE OF ALL RACES CAN LIVE AND

PROSPER TOGETHER -- AND TO OUR CONCERN FOR THAT CAUSE HERE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AMERICANS KNOW FROM OUR OWN EXPERIENCE THAT THE GOAL OF RACIAL JUSTICE IS BOTH COMPELLING AND ACHIEVABLE. AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR THIS PRINCIPLE IS THUS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF FOREIGN POLICY OR OF GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT, BUT HAS THE DEEPEST ROOTS OF ALL -- FOR IT TOUCHES THE MORAL CONVICTIONS OF OUR OWN HERITAGE.

8. BUT THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS ANOTHER, MORE IMMEDIATE DIMENSION -- FOR ITS OUTCOME WILL AFFECT THE COURSE OF EVENTS ON THE OTHER TWO GREAT ISSUES OF OUR TIME. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE IN THIS REGION SO LONG AS FUNDAMENTAL INEQUITY EXISTS; THE CONFLICTS WHICH INJUSTICE WOULD MAKE INEVITABLE CAN ONLY TEMPT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, PERPETUATING OPPRESSION IN AFRICA AND THREATENING GLOBAL INSTABILITY.

9. SIMILARLY, THE ENERGIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE CAN NEVER BE FULLY TURNED TO THE MAMMOTH TASKS OF DEVELOPMENT UNTIL FUNDAMENTAL INJUSTICES ARE BROUGHT TO AN END. ONLY THEN CAN THIS CONTINENT FIND THE PEACE WHICH THE AFRICAN PEOPLE MUST HAVE IF THEY ARE TO BE TRULY FREE TO PURSUE THEIR POSITIVE ASPIRATIONS.

10. IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE ADDRESS THIS ISSUE HERE IN ZAMBIA. BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHIC POSITION AND ITS VITAL ECONOMIC NEEDS ZAMBIA IS DIRECTLY AND GRIEVOUSLY AFFECTED BY STRIFE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. POLITICAL STABILITY
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IN THIS REGION MEANS MORE TO ZAMBIA THAN TO ANY OTHER BLACK AFRICAN NATION.

11. YET DESPITE THE DEMANDS OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL SELF-INTEREST, ZAMBIA HAS CHOSEN TO BASE HER POSITION ON HIGH PRINCIPLE -- TO BE COMMITTED TO THE CAUSE OF RACIAL JUSTICE. BY CLOSING HER BORDER WITH RHODESIA, ZAMBIA HAS ELECTED TO STAND BY HER PRINCIPLES DESPITE THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THAT ACT. ZAMBIA'S POLICY IS A TRIBUTE TO THE DETERMINATION AND COURAGE OF THE PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA, AND TO THE STATESMANSHIP AND VISION OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

12. AND IT IS ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE THAT WE SPEAK OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE HERE IN LUSAKA.

13. IT WAS IN THIS CITY SEVEN YEARS AGO THAT LEADERS OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES PROCLAIMED THEIR MANIFESTO ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. NOW, PERHAPS MORE THAN EVER, THE PRINCIPLES OF THAT MESSAGE NEED TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE

PEOPLES OF THIS REGION AND THEIR LEADERS. LET IT BE

REMEMBERED THAT THE FRAMERS OF THE MANIFESTO VOICED THEIR STRONG PREFERENCE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT, CLEARLY, THE TIME REMAINING FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION HAS BEEN COMPRESSED, AND IN FACT MAY BE RUNNING OUT.

14. ONE IS STRUCK BY THE SIMILARITY OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF MY COUNTRY AND IN THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO. TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THOMAS JEFFERSON WROTE:

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

-- THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

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AND SEVEN YEARS AGO, THE LEADERS OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA DECLARED HERE IN LUSAKA THAT:

"BY THIS MANIFESTO WE WISH TO MAKE CLEAR, BEYOND ALL SHADOW OF DOUBT, OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE BELIEF THAT ALL MEN ARE EQUAL, AND HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS TO HUMAN DIGNITY AND RESPECT, REGARDLESS OF COLOR, RACE, RELIGION, OR SEX. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN HAVE THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO PARTICIPATE, AS EQUAL MEMBERS OF SOCIETY, IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT."

15. LET THERE BE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. AND LET THERE BE NO DOUBT THAT WE SHARE THE ASPIRATIONS AND THE CONVICTIONS OF THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO. WE HAVE BEEN, AND REMAIN, COMMITTED TO THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO THE BELIEF THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE REALIZED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

16. IN THIS CONTEXT LET ME TURN TO THE MOST COMPELLING ISSUES BEFORE US. THE MOST URGENT OF THESE IS RHODESIA WHERE THE PERPETUATION OF COLONIAL DOMINATION IN THE FORM OF AN ILLEGAL MINORITY REGIME THREATENS TO CLOUD THE FUTURE OF THE ENTIRE REGION WITH THE TRAGEDY OF RACIAL CONFLICT. I WISH ALSO TO TAKE UP THE PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS SOME OF THE CRITICAL ECONOMIC ISSUES CONFRONTING SOUTHERN AFRICA -- IMMEDIATE NEEDS AS WELL AS LONG-TERM REQUIREMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT.

RHODESIA

17. BLACK YEARNING FOR EQUAL TREATMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA REMAINS UNFULFILLED AND GROWS IN INTENSITY; A THREAT OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION HANGS OVER THIS REGION.

18. A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS STILL POSSIBLE, BUT ONLY IF THOSE WHO NOW HOLD POWER IN RHODESIA ACCEPT THAT MAJORITY RULE IS INEVITABLE; AGREE TO A RAPID TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE WITH THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS--AND NEGOTI-
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ATE SERIOUSLY TOWARD THAT END.

19. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ITSELF WAS BORN OF REVOLUTION, HAS BEEN CHARGED BY SOME WITH HYPOCRISY FOR ADVOCATING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. I REJECT THAT ARGUMENT CATEGORICALLY. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS SOUGHT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS. THERE IS NO HYPOCRISY IN THE WISH TO AVOID BLOODSHED AND THE DEVASTATION OF WAR. A WAR OVER RHODESIA WOULD BRING TERRIBLE SUFFERING TO BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE. ALTHOUGH THE BLACK MAJORITY WOULD ULTIMATELY PREVAIL, THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY WOULD BE GRIEVOUSLY DAMAGED, A LEGACY OF BITTERNESS WOULD REMAIN, AND THE PROSPECT OF A PRODUCTIVE MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY WOULD BE ELIMINATED.

20. THE AFRICAN PEOPLE SEEK AN END TO WHITE MINORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND THE FOUNDATION OF A JUST SOCIETY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THAT LAND. THE UNITED STATES FULLY SHARES THAT GOAL.

21. BUT MY COUNTRY'S CONCERN HAS ANOTHER DIMENSION AS WELL. IN AN AGE WHEN GLOBAL PROGRESS TAKES PLACE IN THE SHADOW OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, THE UNITED STATES HAS A FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER UPON WHICH WORLD PEACE DEPENDS. OUR FUTURE, AND THE FUTURE OF MANKIND COMPELS US TO SEEK RATIONAL AND RESPONSIBLE WAYS TO MANAGE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WORLD'S TWO SUPERPOWERS.

22. WHILE WE WILL STRIVE TO AVOID CONFRONTATION, WE DO NOT INTEND TO SACRIFICE OUR VITAL INTERESTS OR COMPROMISE OUR MOST CHERISHED PRINCIPLES. OUR HOPE IS TO HELP SHAPE A JUST WORLD ORDER THAT FINDS STABILITY IN SELF-RESTRAINT AND, ULTIMATELY, IN COOPERATION. IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE, SELF-RESTRAINT IS A MUTUAL OBLIGATION WHICH THOSE WHO WOULD IMPOSE OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA MUST CONSIDER.

23. LET ME STATE CATEGORICALLY: MILITARY INTERVENTION BY EXTRACONTINENTAL POWERS CAN ONLY ENSURE THAT AN AFRICAN PROBLEM WILL HAVE NO AFRICAN SOLUTION. IT CANNOT BE IN

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AFRICA'S INTEREST THAT THIS LAND BECOME A FLASHPOINT OF GLOBAL CRISIS IN WHICH EXTERNAL INTERESTS AND RIVALRIES DETERMINE AFRICA'S FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ACCEPT EXTERNAL MILITARY INTERVENTION. BUT BY THE SAME TOKEN WE PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES FOR OUR OWN PURPOSES AND NOT OUT OF FEAR OF FOREIGN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT. LET NO

ONE IN AFRICA--NEITHER WHITE REGIMES NOR BLACK NATIONALISTS--THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN BE PRESSURED BY POINTING TO THE THREAT OF FOREIGN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES OR LARGE ARMS SHIPMENTS. WE WILL ACT ACCORDING TO OUR OWN PRINCIPLES AND INTERESTS.

24. THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES CONCERNED WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA NOW MUST CHOOSE WHETHER PROGRESS WILL BE MADE THROUGH COOPERATION AND PEACEFUL CHANGE--WHICH THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO FOSTER; OR WHETHER THERE WILL BE FURTHER ADVENTURISM--WHICH THE UNITED STATES WILL RESOLUTELY OPPOSE.

THE UNITED STATES POSITION ON RHODESIA

25. THE UNITED STATES POSITION ON RHODESIA IS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL. AS PRESIDENT FORD HAS SAID, "THE UNITED STATES IS TOTALLY DEDICATED TO SEEING TO IT THAT THE MAJORITY BECOMES THE RULING POWER IN RHODESIA." IN OPPOSING THE ILLEGAL MINORITY REGIME THE UNITED STATES IN 1966 VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE UN RESOLUTION TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA. WE AFFIRMED THIS POSITION BY OUR ACTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR WHEN WE JOINED WITH OTHERS TO COMMEND THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE FOR ITS DECISION FULLY TO ENFORCE MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ILLEGAL GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA.

26. THE UNITED STATES SEES FOUR MAJOR COMPONENTS TO A FAIR AND DURABLE RHODESIAN SOLUTION

-- FIRST, THE SALISBURY REGIME MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY STANDS RESOLUTELY BEHIND A JUST, SWIFT AND PEACEFUL FORMULA FOR CHANGE. TO HELP BRING THIS ABOUT, I HAVE, JUST
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PRIOR TO MY ARRIVAL IN AFRICA, DISCUSSED THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN. THE UNITED STATES FULLY SUPPORTS GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION THAT RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE MUST BE PRECEDED BY MAJORITY RULE WHICH, IN

TURN, MUST BE ACHIEVED NO LATER THAN TWO YEARS FOLLOWING THE EXPEDITIOUS CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS.

-- SECOND, STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO IMPRESS THE SMITH

REGIME WITH THE URGENCY AND INEVITABILITY OF THE SITUATION, AND TO INCREASE INCENTIVES FOR A RAPID

CONCLUSION TO NEGOTIATIONS. TO THIS END, THE UNITED STATES WILL SEEK TO FULLY COMPLY WITH ITS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA. PRESIDENT FORD HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO URGE THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THIS YEAR THE BYRD AMENDMENT WHICH AUTHORIZES RHODESIAN CHROME IMPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

TO ENSURE THAT THERE ARE NO MISPERCEPTIONS OR FALSE EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE WHITE LEADERS OF RHODESIA AS THEY CONSIDER THE CHOICES BEFORE THEM, I HAVE SENT AN EMISSARY TO SALISBURY TO CARRY A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OF OUR POSITION IN FAVOR OF RAPID TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

IN ADDITION, AS TIME PASSES WITHOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THE DANGER TO THOSE IN RHODESIA WILL INCREASE. IN VIEW OF THIS LIKELIHOOD THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WILL SOON ISSUE A TRAVEL ALERT. AMERICAN CITIZENS WILL BE WARNED OF THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SITUATION IN RHODESIA AND INFORMED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION THERE NOR ANY MEANS OF PROVIDING OUR CITIZENS WITH ASSISTANCE OR PROTECTION. TRAVELLERS WILL BE ADVISED AGAINST ENTERING RHODESIA; THOSE
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RESIDENT THERE WILL BE URGED TO LEAVE.

THIRD, STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO PROTECT THOSE NATIONS WHOSE NATIONAL INTERESTS MAY BE DAMAGED AS A RESULT OF THEIR LEGITIMATE EFFORTS TO APPLY INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA.

TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE FACE THE ECONOMIC HARDSHIP WHICH WILL RESULT FROM THE CLOSING OF THEIR BORDER WITH RHODESIA, THE UNITED STATES WILL PROVIDE \$12.5 MILLION OF ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE. AND WE ARE NOW DISCUSSING SIMILAR MEASURES WITH BOTSWANA, WHOSE LEADERS ARE NOW CONSIDERING THE IMPACT OF

CLOSING THEIR OWN FRONTIER WITH RHODESIA. (N.B. AF SAYS THAT BOTH BOTSWANA AND ZAMBIA WILL HAVE SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IF BOTSWANA CLOSES ITS BORDER WITH RHODESIA, THEREBY SEVERING THE RAIL

LINK. WE WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH BOTH COUNTRIES AND WITH POTENTIAL AID DONORS BEFORE MAKING AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS NATURE.)

AND FOURTH, PROVISION MUST BE MADE TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA IN MAKING THE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE, AND TO AID A NEWLY-INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

TO THIS END THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS BRITISH PROPOSALS TO PROVIDE CERTAIN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO WHITES WHO CHOOSE TO LEAVE RHODESIA. FOR THOSE WHO ELECT TO STAY, WE ENDORSE PROPOSALS TO GUARANTEE THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AS A MINORITY. WE WILL SUPPORT AS WELL BRITISH PLANS TO PROVIDE PENSIONS AND OTHER APPROPRIATE BENEFITS FOR WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS WHO ELECT TO REMAIN.

AND THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO JOIN WITH GREAT BRITAIN IN A PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO A NEWLY INDEPENDENT, MAJORITY-RULED ZIMBABWE. CONFIDENTIAL

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29. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT WITH AFRICAN LEADERS AND WITH OTHER FRIENDS ON THE RHODESIAN ISSUE. IF IT IS DETERMINED THAT THERE ARE FURTHER MEASURES IN WHICH WE COULD JOIN WITH THEM TO RESOLVE THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM, WE SHALL DO SO.

30. THE CORE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH BESET SOUTHERN AFRICA TODAY LIES IN RHODESIA. UNLESS PROGRESS IS MADE SWIFTLY TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL AND EQUITABLE CHANGE THERE, HOPES FOR SUCCESS IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION WILL BE DIMMED. THE UNITED STATES IS FULLY COMMITTED TO HELP RESOLVE THIS CRUCIAL INTERNATIONAL ISSUE RAPIDLY AND FAIRLY.

OTHER PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

31. RHODESIA IS THE MOST URGENT, BUT BY NO MEANS THE ONLY CRUCIAL ISSUE AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. FOR OVER THREE DECADES THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN AT ODDS OVER A REMOTE CORNER OF THE SOUTHWEST PORTION OF THE CONTINENT.

32. NAMIBIA, WHICH WAS TORN BY WARFARE IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES, BECAME A SOURCE OF SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DISCORD FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II WHEN IT

BECAME A TRUST TERRITORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS REFUSED TO ACCEDE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PROPOSAL TO INCORPORATE THE TERRITORY INTO THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA DECLINED TO ENTER INTO A TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT AND SINCE THEN HAS REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE LEGAL HEIR TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. OVER THE YEARS SOUTH AFRICA HAS CLUNG TO THIS POSITION, DEFYING, IN THE PROCESS, WORLD OPINION, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

33. IN 1966 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TERMINATED SOUTH AFRICA'S MANDATE OVER THE TERRITORY. IN 1971, THE INTERNATIONAL COURT CONCLUDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA WAS ILLEGAL AND THAT IT SHOULD WITHDRAW. THE UNITED STATES VOTED FOR THE 1966 GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION.
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TION. AND WE WERE THE ONLY MAJOR POWER TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT TO URGE THAT SOUTH AFRICA BE ORDERED TO WITHDRAW. WE CONTINUE TO UPHOLD, AS WE HAVE OVER THE YEARS, THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE.

34. THE UNITED STATES IS ENCOURAGED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S EVIDENT DECISION TO MOVE NAMIBIA TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND WHICH WILL EMBODY EQUAL RIGHTS AND AT THE SAME TIME PROTECT ALL MINORITY GROUPS. BUT WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOT ANNOUNCED THE TIMING OF STEPS TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION; THAT ALL ELEMENTS OF THE NAMIBIAN POPULATION HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN DETERMINING THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT THEY SHALL ONE DAY HAVE; AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO DENY THE UNITED NATIONS A PART IN ESTABLISHING A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. BECAUSE OF THIS, THE UNITED STATES IN JANUARY VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE U.N. RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND CALLING FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE SPECIFIC STEPS TOWARD NAMIBIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE.

35. THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH FRANCE AND BRITAIN, HAVE CALLED UPON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT ALL(UNDERSCORED) THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS, UNDER UN SUPERVISION, ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY. I URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE THE PRACTICAL WISDOM OF FOLLOWING SUCH A COURSE. AND I WOULD ADD THAT RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA UNDERLINE THE URGENCY OF THIS MATTER.

36. TO FURTHER THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOLUTION, THE

UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS TO DETERMINE WHETHER FURTHER STEPS BY THE UNITED STATES WOULD IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR A RAPID AND ACCEPTABLE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA. ONCE CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD NAMIBIAN SELF-DETERMINATION ARE UNDERWAY, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO EASE
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OUR RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN NAMIBIA. IN THE LONG-TERM WE STAND READY TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO HELP NAMIBIA TAKE ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE AMONG THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

37. SOUTH AFRICA (UNDERScore) IS ITSELF A CAUSE OF GREAT CONCERN TO THOSE COMMITTED TO RACIAL JUSTICE AND THE CAUSE OF HUMAN DIGNITY.

38. NO COUNTRY, NO PEOPLE CAN CLAIM PERFECTION IN THE REALM OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE IN AMERICA ARE AWARE OF OUR OWN IMPERFECTIONS. BECAUSE WE ARE A FREE SOCIETY OUR PROBLEMS AND OUR SHORTCOMINGS ARE FULLY Aired AND MADE KNOWN TO THE WORLD. WE WELCOME THIS, AND WE ARE PROUD OF OUR RECORD AS WE PERSIST IN THE QUEST FOR JUSTICE FOR ALL IN OUR COUNTRY.

39. FOR THESE REASONS THE UNITED STATES HAS A RIGHT AND A RESPONSIBILITY TO STAND WITH THOSE WHO WROTE IN THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO THAT "THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS HUMAN BROTHERHOOD AND UNCHALLENGED HUMAN DIGNITY IS ONLY BEGINNING."

40. THE WORLD COMMUNITY REGARDS THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH CONCERN NOT MERELY BECAUSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION EXISTS THERE. WHAT DEEPLY DISTURBS THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH IN THAT COUNTRY RACIAL DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED, ENSHRINED IN LAW AND MADE ALL-PERVASIVE. HOLDING ALL THE INSTRUMENTS OF POWER, A MINORITY OF FOUR MILLION HAS SET RACIAL SEPARATION AS A GOAL AND DEPRIVES A MAJORITY OF OVER

21 MILLION BLACKS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS, AND THEREFORE OF THEIR HUMAN DIGNITY. THIS CANNOT BE CONDONED; IT CANNOT ENDURE.

41. NO ONE -- INCLUDING THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA -- CHALLENGES THE RIGHT OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS TO LIVE IN THEIR COUNTRY. THEY ARE NOT COLONIALISTS; HISTORICALLY, THEY ARE AN AFRICAN PEOPLE. BUT WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS MUST RECOGNIZE AS WELL THAT THE WORLD WILL CONTINUE TO
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INSIST THAT APARTHEID MUST END. THE UNITED STATES APPEALS TO SOUTH AFRICA TO HEED THE WARNING IMPLICIT IN THE EVENTS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS: THERE IS STILL TIME TO BRING ABOUT A RECONCILIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK AND WHITE POPULATIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF BOTH. BUT THERE IS A LIMIT TO THAT TIME -- A LIMIT OF FAR SHORTER DURATION THAN WAS GENERALLY PERCEIVED BEFORE THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH IN AFRICA.

42. A PEACEFUL END TO INEQUALITY AND OPPRESSION IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. THE UNITED STATES SHALL CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR, AND TO ENCOURAGE, PEACEFUL CHANGE. OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA, THAT OF COMMUNICATION WITH RESTRAINT, IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME WE SHALL SEE A CLEAR EVOLUTION TOWARD EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND AN EXTENSION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO ALL SOUTH AFRICANS. I URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE STEPS WHICH WILL SUPPORT THE VALIDITY OF THAT PREMISE.

REALIZING A RICH POTENTIAL

43. A FAVORABLE END TO THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA, A SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN RACIAL RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD USHER IN A BRIGHT NEW ERA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ENORMOUS OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF UTILIZING THE REGION'S NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES WOULD BE REMOVED. MUCH WOULD, OF COURSE, REMAIN TO BE DONE TO BRING A BETTER LIFT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. A SUSTAINED, COOPERATIVE EFFORT OF ALL THE COUNTRIES THERE WOULD BE CALLED FOR, ALONG WITH AID FROM THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. BUT THE BEGINNING OF THIS VENTURE CANNOT WAIT FOR A RESOLUTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA'S IMMEDIATE POLITICAL AND RACIAL PROBLEMS.

44. THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO HELP THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA GIVE ECONOMIC REALITY TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE. MAJORITY RULE MUST ALSO BRING WITH IT PARTICIPATION BY THE POOR MAJORITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, A PROCESS WHICH MUST LEAD TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL LIFE.

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45. WE ARE WITH YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS. WE RECOGNIZE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CHALLENGE IN HEALTH PROGRAMS, IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, IN MANPOWER TRAINING, IN IMPROVING RURAL TRANSPORTATION. WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HELP THE AFRICAN PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO CREATE A BETTER LIFE.

46. WE FACE A DUAL PROBLEM. OVER THE SHORT TERM, EMER-

GENCIES MUST BE DEALT WITH AS THEY ARISE IF THE NATIONS OF THE REGION ARE NOT TO SEE THEIR HARD-WON PROGRESS TOWARD DEVELOPMENT MELT AWAY UNDER THE PRESSURE OF ECONOMIC SETBACKS WHICH ARE OFTEN INTERNATIONAL IN THEIR ORIGINS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST COOPERATE TO BEGIN THE LONG-TERM EFFORTS NEEDED TO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT AND THE BROADLY-BASED ECONOMIC STRENGTH NATIONS MUST HAVE TO ENDURE ON THEIR OWN THE CRISES WHICH INEVITABLY WILL OCCUR FROM YEAR TO YEAR. LET ME DEAL FIRST WITH TWO IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: SHARPLY FLUCTUATING GLOBAL COMMODITY MARKETS AND THE IMPACT OF NATURAL DISASTERS:

-- THE SHARP DROP IN WORLD COPPER PRICES HAS HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT ON THE ECONOMIES OF ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE. PRESIDENT FORD HAS ASKED ME TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT HE WILL SHORTLY REQUEST OF THE CONGRESS A SPECIAL ASSISTANCE PACKAGE FOR ZAMBIA OF \$. AND A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR ZAIRE OF \$.

-- TANZANIA HAS BEEN STRICKEN BY DROUGHT AND BY FALLING PRICES FOR ITS EXPORTS. THE UNITED STATES WILL RESPOND, AS WE HAVE IN PREVIOUS YEARS, WITH FOOD AID. THIS YEAR WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE TANZANIA WITH TONS OF FOOD ASSISTANCE.

47. BUT SPECIAL RESPONSES TO EMERGENCIES, NO MATTER HOW CRUCIAL, CAN NEVER GO TO THE HEART OF THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS. LONG-TERM PROJECTS ARE NEEDED TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF SUSTAINED GROWTH. LET ME MENTION THREE OF THESE: TRAINED LOCAL MANPOWER, ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY, AND MODERN TRANSPORTATION.

48. -- IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT TRAINING PROGRAMS BE PROVIDED NOW SO THAT NEEDED MANPOWER WILL BE READY WHEN MAJORITY RULE IS ATTAINED. AS SOON AS POLITICAL CONDITIONS PERMIT, THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND READY TO BEGIN A SUBSTANTIAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR NAMIBIAN AND ZIMBABWEN ADMINISTRATORS AND TECHNICIANS AND TO EXPAND SUCH TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

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49. -- ONE OF THE MOST PROMISING APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IS THE USE OF REMOTE SENSING SATELLITES. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY SHARED MUCH SATELLITE TECHNOLOGY WITH DEVELOPING NATIONS. WE ARE NOW PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE MUCH LARGER PROGRAMS TO MAKE THIS TECHNOLOGY WORK FOR AFRICA--INCLUDING TRAINING PROGRAMS DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN AFRICA, AND SUPPORT OF SATELLITE RECEIVING STATION PROGRAMS IN AFRICA. WE WILL AS WELL BE SEEKING WAYS TO APPLY SUCH TECHNOLOGY TO IMPROVE EXPLORATION FOR NEW MINERAL RESOURCES.

50. -- PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT LONG-TERM ECONOMIC NEED OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IS FOR A MODERN SYSTEM OF REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION. THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS PROBLEM EXTENDS BEYOND THE CAPACITY OF ANY ONE NATION OR SPECIAL GROUP OF NATIONS. FOR THIS REASON THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT UNDERTAKE AS A PRIORITY MATTER THE ORGANIZATION OF A MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP OF DONORS TO DEVELOP A MODERN REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. SHOULD THE BANK BE WILLING TO ASSUME THIS TASK (N.B. WE HAVE NOT YET RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH THE BANK) WE FOR OUR PART PROMISE OUR FULL COOPERATION IN WORKING OUT A LONG-TERM PROGRAM AND IN FINANCING APPROPRIATE PORTIONS OF THAT PROGRAM.

51. -- AND FINALLY, I CAN ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA WILL TRIPLE OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. BY THE END OF THE DECADE WE INTEND TO COMMIT RESOURCES OF SOME \$ ANNUALLY.

52. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO TURNING THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH INTO A NEW ERA OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE REGARD CONFIDENTIAL

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THESE STEPS AS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS GOAL. NEXT WEEK I WILL RETURN TO NAIROBI TO ADDRESS THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT AND THERE I WILL PUT FORWARD NEW PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO FURTHER ADVANCE THE

PROGRESS WHICH WE HAVE MADE ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST YEAR.

CONCLUSION

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

53. THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS MANY SOURCES. ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA ARE SUBSTANTIAL, AND GROWING IN SCALE AND IMPORTANCE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. INCREASINGLY CLOSE COMMUNICATIONS ON OUR SHRINKING PLANET HAVE ENABLED MANY AMERICANS TO EXPERIENCE AFRICA AND ITS CULTURE MORE DIRECTLY. THOUSANDS OF AFRICAN STUDENTS HAVE COME TO OUR UNIVERSITIES, IN A PROCESS OF MUTUAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ENRICHMENT. AND AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR GLOBAL PEACE HAS COMPELLED OUR CONCERN THAT THIS VAST CONTINENT COMPRISING A FIFTH OF THE WORLD'S SURFACE NOT BECOME ONCE MORE AN ARENA FOR THE CLASHING AMBITIONS OF THE GREAT POWERS.

54. BUT OUR CONCERN HAS EVEN DEEPER ROOTS. THIS CONTINENT IS A CHERISHED CULTURAL HERITAGE OF 23 MILLION AMERICAN CITIZENS. IT HOLDS AS WELL THE PROFOUND GOODWILL AND MORAL SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FOR WE TOO HAVE EXPERIENCED THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, FOR RACIAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY, FOR HUMAN DIGNITY.

55. IT IS THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA WHO ULTIMATELY WILL DETERMINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH THE WORLD. BUT MY COUNTRY WILL RESPOND TO AFRICA'S ASPIRATIONS FOR A FUTURE OF PEACE, WELL-BEING AND HUMAN DIGNITY. FOR THESE ARE GOALS WE SHARE.

56. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE NATIONS OF AFRICA TO CONCERT WITH US ON ALL INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. WE ASK ONLY THAT,
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AS WE RESPECT YOUR INTERESTS, ARE MINDFUL OF YOUR RIGHTS, AND SYMPATHIZE WITH YOUR CONCERNS, YOU GIVE US THE SAME CONSIDERATION. LET US BASE OUR RELATIONS ON MUTUAL RESPECT. LET US ADDRESS OUR DIFFERENCES OPENLY AND AS FRIENDS, IN THE RECOGNITION THAT ONLY BY COOPERATION CAN WE ACHIEVE THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLES.

57. STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA IS A MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN POLICY. WE SUPPORT YOUR SELF-DETERMINATION, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE WANT TO HELP YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP YOUR ECONOMIES AND IMPROVE THE WELL-BEING OF YOUR PEOPLE. LIKE YOURS, OUR BELIEF IN RACIAL JUSTICE IS UNALTERABLE.

58. WE OWE OUR CHILDREN BOTH DEDICATION AND PRACTICAL ACTION. BUT THERE CAN BE NO ACHIEVEMENT WITHOUT A COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE GREAT VALUES THAT BIND ALL THE RACES OF MAN. AFRICA STANDS TODAY ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA. THE TIME HAS COME TO PUT ASIDE THE OUTMODED VESTIGES OF THE PAST, TO DEVISE NEW AND EQUITABLE WAYS FOR ALL PEOPLES TO COOPERATE, AND TO TURN THE REALITY OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE INTO THE REALIZATION OF A SHARED AND A GREAT HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT. ROBINSON

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